

## Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 03039 01 OF 02 251630 Z

42

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 RSR-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 EB-11 /164 W  
----- 044338

R 251315 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 591

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3080

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION GENEVE

USDEL SALT II

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3039

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: POLICY FOR INTRA- ALLIANCE COORDINATION

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

DISTO

REF: A) VIENNA 4921 B) STATE 120669

SUMMARY: IN ADDITION TO THE ESSENTIAL TASK OF DEVELOPING AN  
AGREED NEGOTIATING POSITION, THERE IS GENERAL DESIRE AMONG ALLIES,  
REFLECTED IN SYG' S SUMMING UP IN COPENHAGEN, TO ESTABLISH CLEARER  
PRECEPTS FOR MBFR NEGOTIATIONS ON QUESTIONS RELATING TO AND INTRA-  
ALLIANCE COORDINATION. MORE SPECIFICALLY, THESE PRECEPTS WOULD  
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03039 01 OF 02 251630 Z

BE EXPECTED TO COVER PARTICIPATION BY ALLIES IN ALTERNATIVE  
FORA FOR " HARD" NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA, RELATIONSHIPS  
BETWEEN BRUSSELS AND VIENNA, PRESS POLICY, AND GENERAL  
COORDINATION PROBLEMS AMONG ALLIES. GIVEN U. S. INTEREST IN

RETAINING MAXIMUM FLEXIBILITY, SOME OF THESE QUESTIONS MAY PROVE DIFFICULT. WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD MAKE AN EARLY START TOWARDS AN AGREED PAPER ON COORDINATION POLICY SO AS TO KEEP PRECEPTS AS GENERAL AS POSSIBLE. BELGIANS ARE ALREADY DRAFTING A PAPER COVERING SOME OF THESE POINTS AND INCORPORATING MODERATED VIEWS ON USE OF SMALLER NEGOTIATING GROUPS IN VIENNA. WE INTEND TO COLLABORATE WITH BELGIANS IN THIS EFFORT, ENSURING THAT U. S. VIEWS ON POINTS BELOW ARE ADEQUATELY REFLECTED, AND WILL FORWARD DRAFT FOR WASHINGTON REVIEW. END SUMMARY

1. IMPORTANT EXERCISE FOR ALLIES DURING COMING MONTHS WILL BE REVIEW AND REFINEMENT OF QUESTIONS OF COORDINATION POLICY FOR NEGOTIATIONS IN THE LIGHT OF EXPERIENCE IN VIENNA. BELGIANS, BRITISH AND GERMANS HAVE ALREADY TOLD US THAT THEY HAVE IDEAS THAT THEY WISH TO HAVE DISCUSSED AND REFLECTED IN AN AGREED DOCUMENT, AND FLANK COUNTRIES WILL NO DOUBT ALSO HAVE IDEAS TO CONTRIBUTE. SUCH A PAPER COULD BE TREATED AS A SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER IN THE FORTHCOMING U. S. DRAFT ON AN ALLIED NEGOTIATION POSITION. ON OTHER HAND, THERE MAY BE DISTINCT ADVANTAGES IN SEPARATING IT. GETTING AN EARLY START WOULD ALLOW ALLIES TO FOCUS CURRENT EFFORT ON THESE QUESTIONS, AND WOULD AVOID POTENTIALLY IRRITATING DELAY IN DISCUSSION OF SUBJECT MATTER UNTIL U. S. DRAFT COMPLETED. QUESTIONS ARE LARGELY PROCEDURAL AND NEED NOT BE LINKED WITH SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS. PAPER COULD BE SEEN AS A FOLLOW- ON TO PO/72/413 ( COMPREHENSIVE CONSULTATIVE PROGRAM) AND C- M(72)91 ( AGREED PROCEDURES PAPER FOR EXPLORATIONS). ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD AVOID ESTABLISHING OVERLY DETAILED TACTICAL GUIDELINES FOR NEGOTIATORS, BELGIAN BEHAVIOR IN RECENT WEEKS INDICATES DESIRABILITY OF AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN BASIC PRECEPTS. IT IS ALSO DESIRABLE IN OUR VIEW TO PROVIDE SAME REASSURANCES TO SMALLER ALLIES IN THE FORM OF GUIDELINES ON HOW NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE CONDUCTED. EVEN MORE IMPORTANT AIM IN OUR VIEW IS TO REACH AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN RULES OF BEHAVIOR IN THIS NEW EXPERIMENT FOR ALLIES AND FOR NATO WHICH WILL GIVE MORE HELP TO U. S. NEGOTIATOR IN REACHING GOOD END PRODUCT ON SUBSTANCE WITHOUT HAVING TO DEVOTE AS MUCH EFFORT TO TRYING TO MEET VARIED INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUAL ALLIES AS HAS BEEN THE CASE TO DATE IN VIENNA TALKS.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 NATO 03039 01 OF 02 251630 Z

2. NEGOTIATING FORA: WE CONCUR IN RECOMMENDATION IN REFTTEL A THAT ALLIES MUST BE IN POSITION TO USE EMISSARY SYSTEM AT CERTAIN TIMES AND THAT CONCEPT OF OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS SHOULD BE PRESSED ON SOVIETS, WHO MAY HAVE SOME REASONS OF THEIR OWN FOR ACQUIESCING. IN ADDITION TO THESE RECOMMENDATIONS, OUR VIEW IS THAT COORDINATION PROBLEMS MIGHT BE EASED IF PLENARIES WERE HELD AT CERTAIN REGULARLY SCHEDULED INTERVALS, PERHAPS ONCE A WEEK OR ONCE EACH TWO WEEKS. THIS WOULD BE ONLY A MINIMUM, NO A MAXIMUM: ADDITIONAL PLENARIES COULD BE SCHEDULED BY CONSENSUS. PLENARIES NEED NOT INTERRUPT PROCESS OF INFORMAL EAST- WEST CONSULTATIONS AND MIGHT WELL BE " STAGED" OR SIMPLY MEET TO RECORD FACT THAT NO SPEAKERS ARE INSCRIBED, WHICH IS FREQUENTLY THE CASE AT CCD. BELGIAN REP ADRIAENSSEN POINTED OUT TO

MISOFF THAT REGULARLY SCHEDULED PLENARIES COULD SERVE AS DEADLINES FOR RESOLUTION OF ISSUES UNDER DISCUSSION IN LESS FORMAL CONSULTATIONS; AGREEMENTS REACHED COULD THEN BE PRESENTED FORMALLY IN PLENARIES. NEED TO PREPARE FOR PLENARIES IN HIS VIEW WOULD PROVIDE VEHICLE FOR ALLIES TO PRESS SOVIETS FOR RESPONSES ON POINTS UNDER DISCUSSION, AND COULD WORK MORE EFFECTIVELY THAN ARTIFICIALLY DESIGNED DEADLINES. WHILE OPEN- ENDED WORKING GROUPS WOULD TO SOME EXTENT ALLEVIATE NEED FOR REPS OF SMALLER COUNTRIES TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR FOREIGN OFFICES AND ULTIMATELY THEIR NATIONAL PUBLICS THAT THEY ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS, PLENARIES WOULD BE EVEN MORE EFFECTIVE IN THIS REGARD, SINCE PRESS WILL BE BRIEFED ON PLENARIES AND RESULTS WILL BE REPORTED IMMEDIATELY IN NATIONAL MEDIA.

3. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BRUSSELS AND VIENNA: WHILE SEVERAL FACTORS MAY OPERATE TO REDUCE PARENT- CHILD RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NAC AND AD HOC GROUP IN FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS ( E. G., HIGHER RANKING PRINCIPALS IN VIENNA, SEMI- PERMANENT VS. TEMPORARY NATURE OF TALKS), WE DOUBT THAT ALLIES WILL BE WILLING TO RELINQUISH THE PRINCIPLE THAT MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE QUESTIONS AND QUESTIONS OF OVERALL TACTICAL POLICY SHOULD BE DISCUSSED AND DECIDED ON IN THE COUNCIL. QUESTION OF HOW TO FRAME COUNCIL GUIDANCE NEEDS ATTENTION. HOWEVER, WE PROPOSE TO SEEK TO MAKE FIRM THE PRECEPTS THAT COUNCIL GUIDANCE SHOULD BE GENERAL; THAT IT SHOULD AVOID PRESCRIBING SPECIFIC TACTICAL COURSES; THAT IT SHOULD PERMIT NEGOTIATING FLEXIBILITY; AND THAT IT SHOULD NOT ASSUME THAT ALLIED PREFERENCES WILL AUTOMATICALLY BE SUCCESSFULLY

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NATO 03039 01 OF 02 251630 Z

ACHIEVED BY NEGOTIATORS. WHETHER THESE CRITERIA CAN BEST BE MET IN INDIVIDUAL CASES THROUGH GROUP DRAFTING IN SPC AND NAC ( AS IN CASE OF MARCH 12 AND APRIL 27 GUIDANCE) OR THROUGH PRODUCT OF SYG' S OWN REFLECTION AFTER NAC MEETINGS ( AS IN OTHER CASES), IS AN OPEN QUESTION AND CAN POSSIBLY BEST BE DECIDED ON A CASE- BY - CASE BASIS. WHATEVER THE FORM, BASIC PURPOSE OF NAC, AS WE SEE IT, IS EITHER TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS OF TO RECORD ALTERNATIVE NATIONAL POSITIONS ON MATTERS WHICH AFFECT OVERALL NATO INTERESTS AND THUS TRANSCEND VIENNA TALKS. NAC IS NOT AN EXECUTIVE BODY ISSUING DIRECTIVES TO AN ACTION GROUP ( MBFR NEGOTIATORS), BUT RATHER AS A BODY WHERE NATIONAL VIEWS ON ESSENTIAL ISSUES ARE TO BE DEVELOPED AND COORDINATED AND THEN COMMUNICATED TO VIENNA REPS FOR THEIR INFORMATION AND COUNSEL.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NATO 03039 02 OF 02 251647 Z

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 RSR-01 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-02 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-12

NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 IO-13 OIC-04 AEC-11

ACDA-19 OMB-01 EB-11 /164 W

----- 044514

R 251315 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 592

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3081

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION GENEVE

USDEL SALT II

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 3039

4. IN ORDER TO ELICIT MOST APPROPRIATE GUIDANCE FROM NAC, REPORTING FROM AHG WILL BE CRITICAL FACTOR. WHEN AHG IS CONFRONTED WITH A NEW NEGOTIATING SITUATION REQUIRING SUBSTANTIVE DECISIONS, WE CONCUR THAT AHG SHOULD IDEALLY REFLECT ON SITUATION AND WHERE POSSIBLE FORWARD AN AGREED RECOMMENDATION, OR IF THIS PROVES IMPOSSIBLE, A SET OF ALTERNATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS ON BASIS OF WHICH THE NAC WOULD BE ASKED TO CONSIDER THE MATTER. TO REINFORCE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS REPORTING, DELEGATION OF AHG REPS ( INCLUDING PERHAPS CHAIRMAN, ONE REPRESENTATIVE OF FLANKS, AND ONE DIRECT PARTICIPANT) COULD PRESENT VIEWS OF GROUP TO NAC; IF NECESSARY IN THOSE CASES WHEN AHG HAS NOT REACHED CONSENSUS DELEGATION COULD BE COMPOSED OF LEADING PROPONENTS OF ALTERNATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS.

5. COORDINATION WITHIN AD HOC GROUP: QUESTION OF PROCEDURE FOR CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NATO 03039 02 OF 02 251647 Z

IMPLEMENTATION OF NAC GUIDANCE AND OTHER TACTICAL AND PROCEDURAL QUESTIONS WOULD AS IN CURRENT TALKS BE LEFT TO AD HOC GROUP. WHEN DISAGREEMENTS ARISE ON THESE MATTERS WITHIN AHG, IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY WILL BE SETTLED WITHOUT RECOURSE TO ACTIONS VIOLATING THE SPIRIT OF INTRA- ALLIED CONSULTATION SUCH AS BELGIAN WALK- OUT AND RESORT TO PRESS. TO THIS END, IT MIGHT FURTHER BE AGREED THAT CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER SIDE WILL BE SUSPENDED TO PERMIT THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF ISSUE AMONG ALLIES, IN FIRST INSTANCE IN AD HOC GROUP. BELGIAN FOREIGN OFFICE DIRGEN DAVIGNON EXPRESSED HIS FULL CONCURRENCE WITH THIS PRINCIPLE IN DISCUSSION WITH U. S. REP DEAN ON JUNE 20, AND WE WILL FOLLOW UP WITH BELGIAN NATO REPS TO INSERT APPROPRIATE

LANGUAGE IN PAPER THEY ARE NOW DRAFTING.

6. OVERALL COORDINATION AND PRESS POLICY: WE BELIEVE GENERAL PRINCIPLE OF PRIOR COORDINATION AMONG ALLIES BEFORE CONTACTS WITH EASTERN REPS OR WITH ANY PRESS REPS IS ESSENTIAL, AND SHOULD BE STRESSED THROUGHOUT PAPER. OCCASIONAL INFORMAL LEAKS IN VIENNA AND IN CAPITALS ARE PROBABLY UNAVOIDABLE, BUT EVERY EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE TO KEEP THEM TO A MINIMUM. IN ORDER TO REDUCE LEAKS IN NEGOTIATIONS, WE BELIEVE PAPER SHOULD AGAIN STATE AGREED PRESS POLICY ADOPTED IN BRUSSELS IN JANUARY ( USNATO 435), PERHAPS EVEN IN STRONGER TERMS. ALLIES SHOULD SIMILARLY BE ENJOINED FROM GOING BEYOND AGREED POSITIONS IN PRIVATE CONTACTS WITH EASTERN REPS, AN AREA IN WHICH THERE HAVE ALSO BEEN SOME OFFENDERS IN PAST MONTHS.

7. ON BASIS OF CONVERSATION IN BRUSSELS ON JUNE 20 BETWEEN U. S. MBFR REP AND BELGIAN AMBASSADORS DE STAERCKE AND ANDRIAENSSEN, AND SUBSEQUENTLY WITH DAVIGNON, BELGIAN COUNSELOR WILLOT WILL BE DRAFTING A FIRST VERSION OF PAPER COVERING THESE ISSUES GENERALLY. FOR REASONS GIVEN ABOVE, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD CONSULT CLOSELY WITH BELGIAN REPS PRIOR TO THEIR TABLING OF PAPER AND ANY GENERAL DISCUSSION, AND THAT WE SHOULD THEREAFTER USE PAPER AS VEHICLE FOR ACHEIVING AGREEMENT ON COORDINATION POLICY. WE WILL ATTEMPT TO ASSURE THAT POINTS MADE ABOVE ARE COVERED IN BELGIAN DRAFT, USCEWILL DRAFT TEXT OF PAPER WHEN IT IS AVAILABLE. FURTHER, WE WILL RESERVE OUR POSITION TO EXTENT POSSIBLE. RUMSFELD

CONFIDENTIAL

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 02 APR 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** n/a  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** boyleja  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1973NATO03039  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** n/a  
**From:** NATO  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1973/newtext/t19730634/abqceann.tel  
**Line Count:** 245  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE  
**Office:** n/a  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** A) VIENNA 4921 B) STATE 120669  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** boyleja  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 AUG 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21-Aug-2001 by boyleja>; APPROVED <19-Sep-2001 by boyleja>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** MBFR: POLICY FOR INTRA- ALLIANCE COORDINATION  
**TAGS:** PARM, NATO  
**To:** STATE  
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS  
USCINCEUR  
USDOCOSOUTH  
USLOSACLANT  
USNMR SHAPE  
GENEVE

SALT II  
VIENNA

**Type:** TE

**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005